

Despite Vulgarisation by the Revisionists at home and abroad it is Marxism-Leninism that alone can lead us to emancipation

—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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24th April stands out as the most significant milestone in the history of struggles for the emancipation of the toiling people of India. On this day, 30 years back, emerged our great Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, out of the struggle to build up the genuine revolutionary party following the correct Marxist-Leninist line under the leadership of our great leader, teacher, guide and founder General Secretary, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, one of the greatest Marxist thinkers of this era.

The day has become synonymous with the people's struggle for emancipation from exploitation, for attainment of higher morals, ethics and culture conducive to the revolutionary struggle. As in the previous years, this year, too, 24th April aroused great enthusiasm among the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people in different parts of the country. In still greater numbers they participated this year in the programmes for the party foundation anniversary, and pledged themselves to fulfil the historic task of the SUCI to lead the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution in our country through to success. Departing from us, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** adjured us to strengthen the SUCI and carry forward the task of revolution with all initiatives and creative efforts. On this historic day, 24th April, at numerous meetings and gatherings all over the country, the workers, peasants and other sections of the exploited people vowed to fulfil the behest of **Comrade Ghosh**.

The growing consciousness and greater participation of the people only vindicate the truth that not even the combined efforts of the ruling capitalist class and the social democratic forces, the intimidation, tyranny and oppression of the bourgeois state machinery, the virtual blacking out of all the news on democratic movements organised by our party by the bourgeois Press can succeed in stopping the party from gradually winning the people under the banner of revolution following the correct base political line. The achievements of the SUCI in the hard struggles over the last 30 years are clear testimony to this truth.

The State Committees in the different States conducted an intensive ideological campaign in the weeks preceding the 24th April this year and organised meetings on this occasion of the 30th Anniversary of Party Foundation to explain to the people the historic significance of the day and take the pledge to rise to the occasion to fulfil their historic task ahead. The

meeting on the day at the Saheed Minar Maidan attracted huge gathering as it did in the previous years.

People from distant corners of the State started arriving the city from the previous day. Processions of workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people started marching towards the Maidan from the morning of the 24th. They came from all directions. They were well-disciplined, beautifully decorated—the marchers holding aloft big portraits of their most beloved leader, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. They carried numerous banners proclaiming the Party's call of the hour and the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat. Their slogans filled the air of the city and the people living either side of their routes

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HISTORIC MAY DAY

First May is the Day of International Solidarity of the working class all over the World.

On this Red letter Day, the toiling people in colonies and semi-colonies and in countries under capitalist-exploitative rule including metropolitan capitalist countries take their pledge to continue their unceasing struggle to free themselves from the capitalist-imperialist exploitation and express their firm solidarity with the cause of working class revolution. In countries where revolution has already been achieved, the working class take pledge on this day to continue revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to discharge their historic responsibility of establishing an international social order free from exploitation of man by man.

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(Below) : Komsomol members extending a Marchpast Red Salute to the portrait of our beloved departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

(Above) : On the dais together with leaders of different states members of the Central Committee Comrades Pritish Chandra, Nihar Mukherjee (General Secretary), Shankar Singh, Hiren Sarkar and Sachin Banerjee extending Red Salute to the portrait.

WHY SUCI

—The Only Genuine Communist Party On Our Soil

(Contd. from issue dated 15.4.78)

The idea that revolution will be successful only if workers come to the leadership is absolutely erroneous

Guided by the idea that revolution would succeed only if workers step into the leadership, these people have fallen victim to another mistake. They have not been able to detect the flaw in their concept. They have failed to understand that a worker, just because he is so, does not automatically become a revolutionary. Because of his very existence within the bourgeois social system, his thinking and contemplation, his culture, conduct and habits—all get influenced by the vile bourgeois culture. On thorough examination it would be revealed that the workers' complexes that operate in him are complexes of one or other kind centring round individual malice and jealousy prevalent within the framework of the bourgeois class consciousness. But, the proletarian class consciousness is altogether different. To one imbued with proletarian class consciousness the fight against the bourgeoisie is impersonal and a class fight. The consciousness of his struggle against the bourgeois system is not born out of the jealousy that he is not rich himself, nor are his struggles on economic and political demands personal in character—these are impersonal. His hatred is against the class—not personally against an individual. If the hatred is personal and not born out of class consciousness, even a worker can be reduced to a bourgeois under favourable circumstances and conditions. Just as it was casteism when the Brahmins exploited the so-called low caste Hindus invoking scriptural edicts, so also those who are trying to resist the Brahmins by inciting the 'low castes' against the former on caste basis are indulging in casteism in the reverse. Are these called class struggles by anybody? Only when the workers can transcend the level of consciousness which spontaneously arises out of the day-to-day economic and social movements, and become imbued with the revolutionary class consciousness and grasp the Marxist theory of class struggle, the cadres coming from the working class can learn to fight correctly against the bourgeois domination and humiliation of casteism that prevails in our society on the basis of correct impersonal class consciousness and not from any personal malice. Only then would they really understand the class character of the caste humiliation within themselves and would try to become communists by a ceaseless struggle against their sense of class humiliation as well. That one has to mix with the people and the proletariat in order to acquire the true proletarian character—this universally accepted proposition among the Marxist-Leninists is being used now-a-days in an oversimplified and distorted way. It is true that to go to the masses, to mix with the proletariat and workers and to live with and work among them according to the revolutionary theory and party programme are indispensable pre-conditions for becoming revolutionary and these do help in bringing about some changes in outlook of the cadres. But to say that the cadres from the middle class intelligentsia would automatically acquire proletarian revolutionary character just that way is an oversimplified statement. Had it been true then the Gandhites who worked among the masses and many of the Marxists who lived with the masses and worked among them, but deviated later on, would have become communist revolutionaries. It would not be fair to say that all of them simply gave sermons to the masses. There are numerous examples of Marxist or communist leaders and cadres in our country who, in spite of having lived with the people and conducting all sorts of militant struggles, have now turned into rank communist haters. Again, you can see that even today most of those who are working ostensibly for the communist ideal and the red flag and are spending day and night in the midst of workers are typical opportunists in the labour movement and many have turned into lackeys of the capitalists. They have not been able to transform the workers into communists or to impart the revolutionary consciousness in them by working in their midst, but have themselves fallen victim to the degraded culture of the workers crushed under in the bourgeois social set-up.



The workers too would have to free themselves from the bourgeois ideology and rise to the level of communist consciousness

Lenin said: Go to the workers not to become the worker as he is, but to lift them to the standard of a communist. It means, we do not go to the workers to pick up what is vile in them. To say that we go to them to learn from their lives means we improve by learning from their lives our concept and realisation of the proletarian politics and culture acquired from science, epistemology and experience and instil the same in them. We go to them in order to inspire them and mould them into communists. Can we make them revolutionaries just by canting communist political jargons and vocabulary if we ourselves, who would elevate them to communists, cannot acquire communist culture? No, that is never possible. Therefore, those who would establish a link with the masses and lead the mass movements would have to examine, while they do so, whether their theory is correct, their politics revolutionary and whether a living struggle is constantly guiding them to change their culture and outlook on life. So, there is no simple and short-cut solution to this. A worker in this society is but a worker influenced by the bourgeois thinking. It is to be always kept in mind that 'their very existence and culture are constantly influenced by the vile bourgeois culture. It is true that since he is a worker it is easier for him to acquire revolutionary class character, but even then he would have to free himself from the bourgeois ideology and elevate himself to the level of communist consciousness and thus transform himself into a communist. This is why Marx said that the workers of this society would have to transform themselves into revolutionaries first and only then they could lead revolution.

In this context you should also bear in mind that until the 'lumpen' proletariat—the section of the proletariat which, being caught in the vices of bourgeois exploitation and being victim to its degraded culture, has become reduced to 'lumpens'—can free themselves from this 'lumpen' culture, adopt Marxism-Leninism and change their lives accordingly, they cannot even take part in the revolutionary movement, let alone organise revolution. From Marx to Mao Tse-tung all have said that under certain circumstances these 'lumpen' proletariat can form organisations and can even engage themselves in struggles over various economic and political demands, but by that alone they can never organise revolution. Rather it has been found in history that organisations of the 'lumpen' proletariat always oppose revolution in practice and are used as instruments against revolution by the pseudo-revolutionary parties.

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Petty bourgeois mentality, vacillation, ego-centric thinking, individualistic conduct and behaviour must be given up

Now, in this process of becoming communist the middle class cadres must have to give up their middle class mentality, petty bourgeois vacillations, individualistic, behaviour and conduct, and above all the ego-centric thinking while the workers will have to give up their rustic habits—that is they will have to free themselves from the influences of the old feudal prejudices, variants of degraded bourgeois culture and vulgar bourgeois individualism. In a backward and reactionary capitalist country like ours three types of influences of the existing social system are found on the workers. So long they are not imbued with revolutionary consciousness—the workers fall into three categories. The section of workers who have come from peasant families and who still maintain a link with the peasantry carry in them many rustic habits, prejudices and orthodox feudal outlook still prevalent in our rural social life. Even though they are workers they are victim of the hangover of the old feudal culture of rural life. They shall have to free themselves from these influences. There is another section who have come from the lower middle class families and have turned into the ranks of the workers due to economic reasons; even though they have become workers, they still carry to the workers the seeds of middle class mentality, petty bourgeois vacillations and economism, and quarrel over individual leadership as they have not been able to break the cultural-ethical link with the middle class. There is another section of workers who constitute a third category. Even though they are small in number, they are the most revolutionary section of the proletariat from the class point of view, detached as they are from both of those two categories. They constitute the most revolutionary section among the workers in the sense that all their social link with the old society has been completely cut off. But they too are complete victim of the most reactionary culture of the bourgeois society, that is they are victim of vulgar individualism and a desparateness which is aimless and therefore blind in nature. The kind of vulgar individualism which we find among the educated or the so-called enlightened bourgeois individuals and which looks somewhat different because of a coating of education—this vulgar individualism minus education is what we find among this section of the workers. Naturally, if this most advanced section of the workers, who are the most revolutionary section from the class point of view, cannot develop a sense of obligation and sense of responsibility for the collective by freeing themselves from the influence of this vulgar individualism, and if they cannot be elevated to the stage of communist consciousness, they too, likewise, cannot become communists. Hence, they too will have to acquire the communist character.

None can become a communist by avoiding the struggle to acquire the required high cultural standard

So, you can follow from the whole discussion that to be a Marxist or a revolutionary communist everyone will have to conduct a conscious struggle in a correct way, individually and collectively, by accepting Marxism as the philosophy of life which will greatly influence all aspects of life and change one altogether. 'Marxism is a mere political theory meant for analysis of political situations only'—to accept Marxism like that or to memorise the three principles of Dialectical Materialism—by this alone none can become a Marxist-Leninist. One can become a leading member in a communist party only by engaging oneself with one or other of the units of mass or class organisations of the party in the struggle for developing the people's revolutionary movement through a relentless struggle for identifying one's individual thinking and interest with the revolutionary thinking and interest of the proletariat, that is with the interest of revolution,—attaining thereby a higher cultural standard. Avoiding this struggle none can become a communist, however talented he may be. Even a powerful intellectual like M. N. Roy could not ultimately become a communist since he avoided this struggle in practice. The intellectual ability of M. N. Roy was of such a height that Subhas Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru and even many socialist and communist leaders of that time acknowledged it with deep respect. He was then the only known Marxist leader who had entered into almost all branches of science and epistemology. In spite of having such an intellectual ability, as also the privilege of acquaintance with Lenin and the direct link with and knowledge of the communist movement—he became ultimately a communist hater out

and out. Neither his high intellectual aptitude, nor his proficiency in so many branches of knowledge could ultimately save him from degeneration. He failed to become a communist as he could not co-ordinate dialectically the various theories of science and epistemology while acquiring mastery over them and since he failed to conduct correctly the struggle within the party for identifying individual interest with the interest of the working class keeping constantly in view whether each and every reflection of the habits, behaviours and ethics of personal life was in conformity with Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. As a result, despite such talent, he ultimately became an out-and-out reactionary and diehard anti-communist.

Strengthen the SUCI, the only Communist Party on the Indian soil in order to uphold the nobility of the communist ideology and to lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution

Thus it is clear from the critical examination of the history of the undivided CPI and the three factions born out of it as also from the activity, conduct and behaviour of the leaders and cadres of these parties that all of them took to building up their respective parties bypassing this all important and essential struggle to build up a genuine communist party of the proletariat. Despite all honesty, dedication, sacrifice and struggle of the cadres, none of these has developed into a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat because of their failure to conduct the struggle of identifying their lives with the party and revolution consciously and collectively so as to free themselves completely from the influence of individualism. As a result, despite accepting Marxism as an ideology, as they avoided the protracted and complex struggle of developing 1) ideological centralism covering all aspects of life and every activity, that is one process of thinking, uniformity of thinking, oneness in approach, singleness of purpose, 2) concrete conception of collective leadership, and (3) a group of professional revolutionaries in the party in order to build up the working class character of the party and communist character of those who have dedicated themselves to building up of the party—both the CPI and the CPI (M) have been reduced to mere platforms of some petty bourgeois political groups and individuals for conducting political struggles unitedly on the basis of some common political programmes. And if the Naxalites form a party they too will meet with the same fate.

Thus it is clear that whatever else they may be capable of doing, it is not at all possible for any of these three factions of the original undivided Communist Party of India to lead a complex struggle like the anti-capitalist socialist revolution to achieve the emancipation of the toiling masses of our country—leaving aside the various flaws and blunders in their theories. What poses today as the greatest danger to the communist movement and is causing incalculable harm to the country is that the opportunism in the day-to-day mode of living as also the conduct of the leaders and cadres of these parties and the low cultural standard reflected in their utterances, dealings and behaviour, which I have discussed at length earlier, are more and more lowering the prestige of such a scientific and noble ideology as communism in the eye of the people. Therefore, it is imperative to form a genuine communist party and strengthen it in order to uphold the nobility of the red flag, the noble symbol of revolution and communist ideology and to lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution of our country through to success. And to fulfil this historic task the SUCI has emerged through long and arduous struggles with all the qualities of a communist party.

[Concluded]

JUST OUT

Why SUCI is the only genuine Communist Party in India

—SHIBDAS GHOSH

Price : Rs. 2-00

24th April

(Contd. from Page 1) were enthused by the great spirit, discipline and sense of dedication to the revolutionary cause displayed by the marchers. Thousands of the city's population from every walk of life—workers, office-employees, youths, students, teachers, and other sections of the middle class intelligentsia—filled in the Maidan which wore the look of a vast sea of humanity of people of diverse political views, and members of other political parties too, had come to listen to the call of the SUCI's leadership. As the meeting ground was packed to capacity, thousands stood on the skirting roads for hours.

The big rostrum at the western end of the Maidan beckoned to the assembly the behest of the revolutionary working class party of the country, the SUCI, and its great leader teacher, guide and founder General Secretary, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat. **Comrade Nihar Mukherjee**, the General Secretary of the party, and other members of the Central Committee, **Comrade Sachin Banerjee**, **Comrade Pritish Chanda**, **Comrade Shankar Singh**, **Comrade Hiren Sarkar**, and leaders from the States were seated on the rostrum. **Comrade Sukomal DasGupta**, Secretary of the

West Bengal State Committee of the party, presided. In the background graced a huge portrait of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat and an outstanding Marxist thinker of this era, and by its side was a huge emblem of proletarian internationalism and revolution the hammer, sickle and five pointed star. A row of 30 red flags, symbolising the 30th Anniversary of Party Foundation, flanked the rostrum. A series of banners which read: "Pledge yourselves to help forge a broad-based unity against fascism, the despicable enemy of mankind", "Strengthen the SUCI, the Marxist-Leninist Party guided by the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great leader of the proletariat" were there.

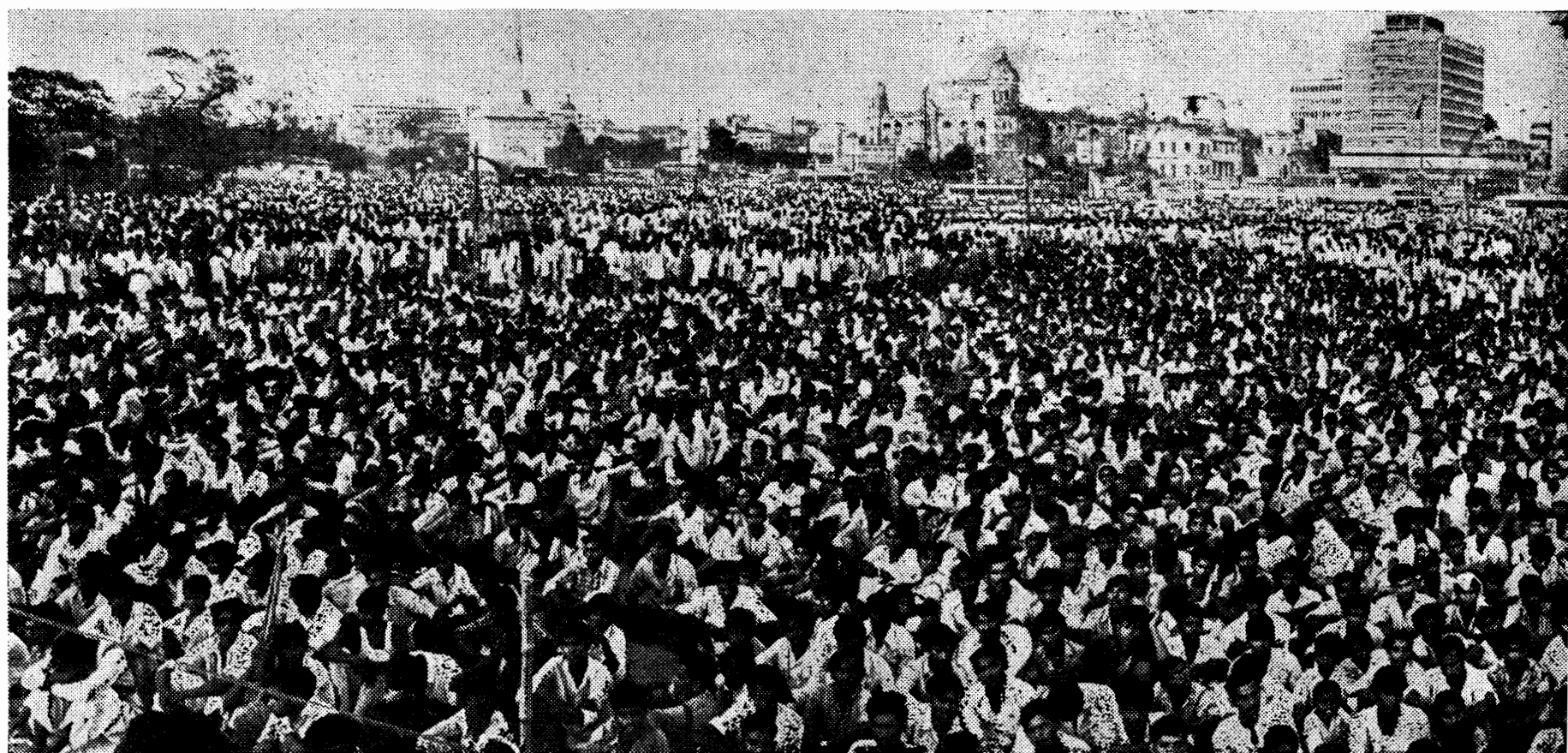
The proceedings of the meeting began with **Comrade Nihar Mukherjee** General Secretary of the party placing wreath on the portrait of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** paying revolutionary respect in red salute to the great departed leader. The music squad of the DYU then sang the songs composed on 24th April and **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Komsomol, the young communist wing of the SUCI, next presented a guard of honour to their beloved leader, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. **Comrade**

Sukomal Dasgupta, President of the meeting then moved a condolence resolution on the martyrs who laid down their lives on the democratic mass movements and the anti-colonial freedom struggles abroad, and the Party Comrades V. Natarajan, Ramaprasad Roy Choudhury, Sahadeb Mondal, Kamal Bose and Abdus Sadek among others who died in the year past as also the vast number of the people who died in the cyclones in Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Orissa and West Bengal. The entire gathering stood in silence for a minute to pay homage to the departed. **Comrade Dasgupta** paid revolutionary greetings to the vast multitude of the people who had gathered at the meeting and to all those who had helped by generous contribution and active cooperation. The main political resolution was moved from the chair. The resolution expressed a grave concern for the further accentuation of the various problems plaguing the people's life and the brutal repression by the Janata Government on the mass movements growing over these issues in any part of the country by resorting to an unprecedented police atrocity. The resolution demanded immediate repeal of all undemocratic and preventive detention

Acts including the 42nd Constitution Amendment Act, an open declaration from the governments that "Police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements". The resolution further expressed its grave concern for the poisonous caste-animosities instigated by the government and all the bourgeois parties in Bihar and UP" and noted that "the CPI and the CPI(M) are also playing the same game by their support to the policy of reservation of jobs on the basis of caste discrimination." It demanded that "the government must take the responsibility to provide jobs to all the unemployed irrespective of caste and religion and pending that must give them unemployment allowance. At the same time this meeting calls upon the exploited people of the country to preserve and consolidate their unity against this conspiracy of the capitalist class."

The resolution strongly condemned "the utter neglect and total irresponsibility of the Central Government at the inhuman attitude of the State Government towards the refugees" who recently made a desperate rush to West Bengal. It noted that the Left Front Government is "not only trying to bypass its responsibility by pointing to the centre, instead of

utilising whatever limited scope is available for public welfare within the capitalist framework, they are trying to foster a mentality among the people as if they can resolve all problems only if they can come to power at the centre. In the name of Leftism, the 'Left Front' Government is thus obstructing the development of mass movements on the one hand and objectively subserving the Indian capitalism on the other by creating an illusion among the people for the parliamentary politics". It also observed that by "tarnishing the image of Leftism in West Bengal and obstructing the growth of mass movements, the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government is objectively helping create ground for the revival of the Indira Congress only to serve the interest of the capitalist class" which looms "as a grave danger before the whole country". The resolution strongly condemned this government's discriminatory treatment of the recognised and registered parties over the issue of reservation of Panchayat Poll Symbols and demanded that "the government must conduct



View of only a part of the vast sea of humanity that congregated at Saheed Minar Maidan, Calcutta

the Panchayat Polls in West Bengal in a free and fair way". It expressed the opinion, in conclusion that "it is possible to lead the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution through to success only by strengthening the SUCI and encouraging continuously the democratic mass movements and thereby giving birth to the political power of the people as the indispensable instrument for that revolution."

Addressing the gathering in Hindi Comrade Shankar Singh member of the Central Committee of our Party said that all the present problems of peoples' life are cropping up from this exploitative capitalist system and unless the people become conscious of it and realise what is the real path of their emancipation, unless they can distinguish between as to who are their real friend that can show and lead them to their cherished goal and who are sham friends that are there to confuse them, to lead them to the wrong track—they will never be able to emancipate themselves from the clutches and tentacles of exploitation, there will be no end of their miseries.

Continuing Comrade Singh asked, did not the people of Bihar and Gujrat rise in revolt against injustice and tyranny, hunger and

miseries just a year or so back before Indira Gandhi clamped the Emergency? But what happened? Despite peoples' sacrifice—their miseries did not end.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh warned time and again, during the Emergency and even before—during the Bihar and Gujrat movement—that it is the historical experience that people want to fight, they want to rise against their miseries but if they cannot be organised and made politically conscious then the reactionary parties will reap the benefit in their parliamentary game—the bourgeoisie will try to channelise the discontent and wrath of the people and confine it within the narrow bounds of parliamentary politics.

Concluding Comrade Singh urged all to rally behind SUCI and strengthen it in order to hasten the process of the long cherished dream of our toiling people, the Socialist Revolution, the emancipation of our society from capitalist exploitation—the behest of the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our Party and the main speaker at the meeting, explained, in the course of his long speech, the historic significance of 24th April and made a penetrating analysis

of the present political situation, dealt extensively on the role of the social democratic forces, and urged the people to strengthen the SUCI to lead the anti-Capitalist Socialist Revolution through to success.

Beginning his speech, Com. Mukherjee recalled the historical background of the emergence of the SUCI as a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in India under the leadership of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

Being convinced that the then undivided CPI, despite sacrifices made by many of its leaders and cadres, had failed totally to emerge as a genuine working class party and provide the correct revolutionary leadership to the people and realising the need for a genuine revolutionary working class party to lead the people's struggle for emancipation to its logical culmination, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great leader of the proletariat, founded the SUCI on this day 30 years back. Virtually unknown, with no resources and without means of subsistence but having the courage of revolutionary convictions he, along with a handful of revolutionary compatriots, undertook the most arduous and painstaking task of building up a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in our country. Inspired by the Leninist principle of "fewer, but better fewer," these vanguards, led by **Comrade Ghosh**, embarked on an all-embracing struggle covering all aspects of life.

To them 'revolutionary theory,' did not mean simply a political programme but an all-embracing struggle based on higher culture and ethics integrating knowledge of all branches of science and epistemology.

Comrade Ghosh correctly applied this general knowledge of Marxism in the concrete situation of our country and along with this concretisation of Marxism in the given condition he initiated an

intense movement to fulfil the three essential prerequisites for giving organisational structure to the revolutionary party of the proletariat—that is to lay the foundation of ideological centralism through a socialist movement based on dialectical materialism covering all aspects of life, to develop a concrete concept of collective leadership in the party, and to create a band of professional revolutionaries. The CPI and the other so-called Marxist parties, Comrade Mukherjee explained in the light of the teachings of our beloved leader **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, had failed to pursue, right from their inceptions, this scientific process of building up a revolutionary working class party and had been persisting all along in pursuing wrong political lines. Comrade Mukherjee appealed to those who had grown averse to communism seeing its distortion at the hands of the pseudo-Marxist parties in our country and abroad not to turn away from communism, but to fight against this distortion because it is the only philosophy, the only ideology that alone can lead the oppressed people to the path of emancipation.

Com. Mukherjee pointed out that today even the struggle to defend democratic rights of the people cannot be correctly conducted by being averse to communism. One may not be an advocate of communism to be a defender of democratic rights of the people, but what he needs is to maintain at least a benevolent attitude to it. History is replete with instances of so-called defenders of democracy with anti-communist bias taking shelter on the lap of the imperialists. Now when we talk of the problem of restoration, preservation and further extension of fundamental and democratic rights and liberties of the people who can be the left and democratic forces with whom we can unite in our struggle? We can unite with those forces who are, if not adherents of communist ideology do

not, at least, reflect anti-communist bias and hatred, take consistent anti-imperialist stand as also champion and support the legitimate democratic movements of the toiling people.

Coming to the specific context of the Indian situation Comrade Mukherjee briefly traced the history of development of the Indian capitalism from the pre-British period and pointed out as shown conclusively by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, that capitalism in India has not only given birth to monopoly but through the merger of industrial capital and banking capital to finance capital and financial oligarchy. He also pointed out that according to Leninism export of capital means nothing but attainment of imperialist character.

So by export of this finance capital in the markets of Asia, Africa and even in USA and UK the Indian capital has no doubt attained the imperialist character. The Indian national bourgeoisie is firmly established in the state power and the State is being led by it. But the CPI and the CPI(M) do not acknowledge this truth in their thesis and political programmes.

Com. Mukherjee pointed out that the installation of Janata Government at the Centre through the last parliamentary poll took place as the class compulsion of the bourgeoisie which felt the necessity of projecting before the people another bourgeois alternative lest the deep-seated anti-Congress feeling of the masses went against the capitalist system itself. So raising anti-Congress slogans this bourgeois alternative could initiate two-party parliamentary system by diverting the attention and drawing the support of the people taking advantage of the absence of a genuine left and democratic unity for which our party made persistent efforts.

Comrade Mukherjee explained, in the light shown by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, that

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The Panchayat Election in West Bengal is going to set an example of Legalised Rigging

In a press conference held on 14th April last, on the question of the coming Panchayat Election, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee issued the following statement :

"A most unjust and gross discriminatory treatment is going to be meted out in the coming Panchayat Elections to the unrecognised registered political parties, which is violative of the very principles of free and fair elections. This stark reality is, however, being kept out from the people behind the fanfare of various political propaganda and counter-propaganda of the CPI(M)-led 'Left front' on the one hand, and the Congress and the Janata party on the other.

The 'Left Front' Government of this state has decided to take this Panchayat Elections as a political fight. In a capitalist country like India, where the contradiction and conflict between the diametrically opposite class interests of labour and capital is working as the main contradiction within the society, what to speak of Panchayat Election, no phenomenon can be beyond its ambit and in that sense cannot but be guided by one or the other class outlook, directly or indirectly. The question of using party symbols cannot, therefore, be the criterion in deciding whether the election is being taken as a political fight or not. If that be so, it would have been fair to allow all the political parties to face the electorate as political parties and present their respective political view-points enjoying equal rights, which alone would have been consistent with the principles of free and fair election. But in reality, under cover of a 'political fight' the 'Left Front' Government, to its own convenience, is adopting one principle in the case of recognised parties and a different one, as regards the registered political parties and this is going to set up an example of gross discriminatory attitude which has no prece-

dence or parallel. To be specific, in the three-tier electoral system of the coming Panchayat Election, namely, Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad, the candidates of the recognised parties shall have the opportunity to contest the election with one symbol, i.e. the symbol reserved for their parties. In other words, these parties shall have the opportunity to mark their candidates to the voters with the help of these reserved symbols. But the registered political parties will be denied this opportunity since they will be allotted different symbols for different tiers and even different symbols for the same tier for different candidates of the same party in case of a multi-member constituency. It may be pertinent to point out here that it has been the long-standing policy of the Election Commission to classify the political parties as 'recognised' political parties and unrecognised 'registered' political parties and allow the registered parties to select their symbol from among the free symbols and contest from the different constituencies with that particular selected symbol alone. Let alone retaining this long-standing right of the registered political parties, it is really difficult to understand as to how the 'Left Front' Government by the mere stroke of a pen could deny the very existence of these parties and reduce the candidates of these parties to a position far worse than that of independent candidates.

Admittedly, the registered parties, as because they are not recognised parties, can have no claim to reserved symbols. But for what reason they have been denied the right to select one symbol from among the list of free symbols and contest the

election with that very symbol can best be explained by the CPI(M) leaders. The problem remains unresolved despite submission in writing to the 'Left Front' Government and meeting in a deputation with the concerned Minister by our party. When the Panchayat Election is going to be held under the management of the State Government then which are the recognised parties and which are not should have been determined on the basis of the results of the Panchayat Election. The Election Commission too divided the political parties into recognised and registered parties on the basis of their experiences of a few general elections. But the 'Left Front' Government did not follow this procedure at all. On the contrary, they have illegitimately taken loan of the symbols of the recognised political parties from the Election Commission. This decision of the 'Left Front' Government cannot be interpreted as other than an attitude to defend the vested interest of recognised parties and what is more their refusal to engage themselves in a political fight with the registered parties and more particularly the SUCI, has laid bare their utter political bankruptcy. No doubt, this attitude is very much consistent with the attitude they displayed at the time of forming Block Committees, excluding only the SUCI on some plea or other.

No wonder, there may be an identity of interest between the CPI (M), Janata Party and both wings of the Congress when the CPI(M) has discovered 'friends' and 'progressives' not only in the Janata Party and the Congress, but in the Indira Congress as well. The question that comes up again and again in the people's mind, is why the parties of the 'Left Front' have taken an attitude of hostility towards a genuine left party

like the SUCI. It is, therefore, not difficult to understand that the contention and rivalry between the CPI(M) on the one hand and Congress, Janata Party on the other, whatever form it may apparently take, is nothing other than contention and rivalry typical of bourgeois parliamentary politics. But the nature of contradiction between their politics and the politics of SUCI, reflects a class contradiction—the contradiction between revolutionary politics and non-left, opportunist politics. Moreover, any considerate person can well judge whether in an election of an underdeveloped country like ours where thousands of votes are cancelled in the general election in the countryside, is it at all possible for the voters, particularly the rural voters to cast their votes, even if they so desire, in favour of candidates set up by the registered political parties, by correctly memorising three to five different symbols of their candidates which will be different not only for different tiers, but for different constituencies as well? If by rigging an election, we mean influencing the result of that election by unfair means in favour of a particular party or a group, then will it be too much if this decision is termed as an example of "legalised rigging"?

We would like to add one more point in this connection. In the Panchayat Act of 1973 or the rules based on it, the question of allotment of symbols to recognised parties obviously did not arise and therefore was not mentioned because the Panchayat Election was not thought of or viewed in the manner as is being done now. But now that the whole issue is being viewed from a different angle and the old rules are being changed particularly on the question of the participation of the political parties it would have been just and fair to collect public opinion in this regard, or if that is not possible, at least to give the MLA's

the opportunity to express their opinions in the Assembly as the representatives of the people. But even they were denied this opportunity. Thus, those who once declared that they would run the government not from the Writers' Building but in consultation with public opinion, are not only today riding roughshod over public opinion, but are even denying the MLA's as the representatives of the people the right to give their opinion on such an important and vital issue.

In conclusion, it should be said that the question of observing the rules and regulations seems to have disappeared in the forthcoming Panchayat Election. The reports from the districts so far indicate spate of glaring discrepancies between the rules and the existing reality. It is true that the present Panchayat Election has assumed immense importance since such elections have not been held for many years. The election should doubtless be held without any delay, but it should be held only after ensuring that the entire process has been made flawless. It cannot be argued that it was not possible at all to remove the flaws in due time. Moreover, the election programme has been so drawn up that there exists every possibility of the Monsoon setting by then. Besides, only the leaders of the 'Left Front' Government can explain why, despite having sufficient time, they could not select a date other than 24th April, the foundation day of the SUCI for scrutiny of the nomination papers.

Incidentally, it should be stated here that our request for a change of the date of scrutiny was turned down as usual. Hence a pertinent question cannot but crop up: What is the rationale behind holding the Panchayat Elections in such hot haste while all these flaws exist? Are we to conclude then that they want to fight the elections from a politically motivated outlook of capturing the Panchayat bodies by hook

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HISTORIC MAY DAY

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After the second World War, the people all over the world witnessed new waves in the international working class movements.

The existence and development of world socialist market coupled with the continuously growing strength of the Socialist Camp, the growing tide of national liberation struggles in colonies and semi-colonies, the appearance of the bourgeoisie of the former colonies as new competitor in the international arena, all these taken together created such a situation that the working class movement reached practically at the threshold of international revolution. But, due to the usurpation of the leadership of the Soviet Party and the State by the Khrushchevite revisionist clique, as a result of which modern revisionism swept the working class movement creating disunity and rift in the world communist camp, the world proletariat lost a golden opportunity for bringing an end to all sorts of exploitative and oppressive rule once for all. Still today, it is modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at its centre and their henchmen in different countries that pose the main danger to the revolutionary movements in general and world proletarian revolution in particular.

Through his invaluable and penetrating analysis **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, one of the greatest Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, has taught us that to carry forward the task of revolution one must have to give a complete defeat to different shades of revisionism that are now being practised in different countries under the garb of revolution.

In our country, the main danger to the working class movement is being posed by revisionism practised by the parties like the CPI

and CPI(M). While revisionism practised by the CPI, strung to the apron of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU is more or less exposed to the people, the CPI(M) is clever enough, and so more dangerous, in its attempt to conceal its utter revisionist character from the toiling people not only under the garb of high sounding revolutionary phrases, but also posing some sort of 'neutrality' in between the Soviet and the Chinese line but in fact becoming very close to the revisionist leadership of the CPSU. It is due to the rotten brand of revisionism and reformism practised by these parties that worst type of opportunism and economism have succeeded to permeate through and damage the very backbone of the working class movement.

The social democratic parties as they are, like the bourgeois parties, they too, are in hand and glove with the ruling capitalist class to serve and protect capitalism facing at present world-wide third acute general crisis. In conformity with its class outlook the CPI(M) led "Left Front" Government in West Bengal is pursuing a non-left policy solely with an eye to protect and serve the interest of the monopoly capitalists. Let alone encouraging and patronising the legitimate democratic movements of the different sections of the toiling people they, just like the bourgeois parties, do not even hesitate to interfere with and launch brutal attack on such movements and send police to repress mass movements, on the plea of maintaining 'industrial peace', and 'law and order'.

It was due to the social democratic, opportunist role of these revisionist parties, that the tremendous possibility that was opened up for developing mighty left and democratic movement throughout the length and breadth of the country by forging unity of the genuine left and democratic forces was

nipped in the bud and the ruling capitalist class reaped maximum dividend out of it. In pursuant to its long efforts, the ruling capitalist class, through the installation of the Janata Party at the centre in place of the erstwhile ruling party i.e. Congress (R), has at last succeeded to give birth to two-party system—an anti-people bourgeois conspiratorial design to arrest the wrath and indignation of the people against the capitalist class and the system within the confines of the parliamentary politics so that it may not burst out in the form of extra-parliamentary mighty battle against capitalism.

On this day of historic significance the toiling people must come forward to build up legitimate democratic mass movements as precursor to anti-capitalist socialist revolution by isolating in its process the compromising force represented by the social democratic and the sham Marxist parties and hold aloft the banner of leftism and revolution by protecting their movement against the pernicious influence of and onslaught from all shades of reformism, revisionism and social democracy.

To fulfil this task they must free themselves from social democratic deception and establish in its place the revolutionary leadership of the only genuine communist party in India, the SUCI, upholding the thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great teacher of the proletariat.

They must remember that only by accomplishing this task they can defeat all the conspiracies and evil designs of the bourgeoisie and the treachery of the social democrats. And they must also realise that no amount of sacrifice can bring an end to their slavery if their struggles remain in the grip of the social democracy, the last prop of fascism.

They will have to hold aloft the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism whose concrete and best expression in our country

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Condemns Incidents of Brutal Police Atrocities

Calcutta 20th April: Condemning the brutal lathi charge by the police on the vendors and the public as a sequel to an incident that took place on Wednesday last at Howrah Station and expressing serious concern at and protesting against the unbridled police atrocities in different States under Governments whether they are run by Janata Party, Congress or the 'Left Front' led by the CPI(M) **Comrade Nihar Mukherjee**, General Secretary, SUCI has issued the following statement to the press today:

We cannot but express serious concern at the highhanded and hostile attitude of the police towards the people in general and legitimate democratic movements in particular that has manifested itself in unprecedented dimension throughout the length and breadth of the country. The incident of 19th April at Howrah Station is not, therefore, an isolated event.

Words fail to express the savagery let loose by the coercive apparatus of the state on workers' colonies in Bailadela in MP and Panthnagar in UP taking the toll of more than 300. This has taken place much before the horrifying memory of Hyderabad and Tamil Nadu could be faded out leaving aside the series of lathi charges and firing by the police in different parts of the country during the last one year.

We strongly protest against this unprecedented atrocities of the police and urge the Central and State Governments to put a halt to all this immediately. We demand that there should be an immediate public enquiry into all such incidents and those found guilty must be given exemplary punishment. We further demand that all the Governments must make a policy declaration and strictly adhere that "Police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements".

We call upon the people to build up mass movements for the restoration, preservation and further extension of fundamental democratic rights of the people.

PANCHAYAT ELECTION

(Contd. from Page 6) or crook before their image get completely tarnished?

In the face of such an extremely adverse circumstances and fully conscious of all the hurdles and obstacles, the SUCI has decided to participate ex-

is the great thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

It is only by establishing the SUCI in their struggle and educating themselves with the thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that they can reach their goal of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and establish proletarian dictatorship.

Forward to the path of emancipation by building up political power of the people!

tensively in the ensuing Panchayat elections on the basis of its organisational strength and the people's support. While taking firm resolve to fight against the three branded parties of the bourgeoisie, i.e. the Janata Party, Congress and Congress (I) the party feels the historic necessity to expose before the people the non-left policies of the 'Left Front' Government protesting at the same time the most unfair attitude of the government to the issue of allotment of symbols.

Every democratic-minded person should now come forward to protest against the unfair conduct and undemocratic decision of the 'Left Front' Government and uphold the democratic norms, ethics and ideals.

Strengthen SUCI, the only hope of the toiling people

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fascism may manifest itself not only through rejection of parliamentary system, but also by maintaining a facade of democracy and even under the garb of two-party system. He recalled with reverence how the analysis of **Comrade Ghosh** has come true today.

Comrade Mukherjee wondered that although the sole object of this two-party parliamentary system was to arrest the legitimate democratic mass movement within the four walls of parliamentarism-reformism, the CPI(M) was calling Janata Party, the bourgeois alternative, a 'friend' and that too at a time when Janata Government was brutally suppressing with bullets the very little mass movements that were there in different parts of the country. He also pointed out that there is a peculiar coincidence that so long as the monopolists were backing Sm. Indira Gandhi, the CPI(M) lent all its support to her, but the very moment the monopolists shifted their allegiance from Sm. Gandhi to Janata Party the CPI(M) took no time to call Janata Party progressive, the erstwhile right reactionaries according to their old analysis.

Comrade Mukherjee drew the attention of the audience that the CPI(M) supported Indira wing of the Congress not only in 1969 when the Congress was split under her leadership but even extended support to the political line of Sm. Gandhi during Emergency. It even said that the 20-point programme of Indira Gandhi which was just a cover for her fascist design, would go a long way in bringing relief to the masses.

Comrade Mukherjee stated that when the CPI(M) Polit Bureau members were meeting Indira Gandhi to assure her its consistent support to her political line during Emergency, the SUCI by its intense literary campaign through its

organs and booklets helped the people understand where was the real danger of fascism.

Coming again to the danger posed by two-party parliamentary system Comrade Mukherjee categorically stated that besides the branded parties of the bourgeoisie the Janata Party, the Congress and the Congress (I), the possibility of the social democratic or sham Marxist Parties to emerge as the third alternative in the very same mechanism of the two-party system should not also be ruled out. Last year our party gave this caution to the people from this platform on this occasion. In fact the CPI and the CPI(M) made no secret of it that they too were frantically attempting to emerge as the third national alternative aligning with parties and forces like the Akalis, DMK, ADMK, progressive forces within Janata and even honest persons within both wings of Congress to fill the vacuum created in the bourgeois parliamentary politics. The call of such 'unity' has been given from the platforms of Jullander and Bhatinda.

But this left and democratic unity as conceived by these parties has nothing to do with the concept of unity of left and democratic forces as the instrument of people's legitimate democratic movement conducive to the struggle for emancipation. Analysing the attitude, approach and concrete policies pursued by the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal Comrade Nihar Mukherjee showed that as the Janata Party, or the Congress, have been serving the capitalist class, so is objectively doing this 'Left Front' Government. He reminded the people the historic teaching of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** as to what should be the guiding principle and proper approach of a government when it is run

by genuine left parties and showed that the fundamental difference between a Government run by a bourgeois party and one run by a genuine left party lies in its attitude to legitimate democratic movements of the people. So long as capitalism remains, the talk of solving the basic problems in the people's life is sheer deception. But some relief and a breathing space for the people's movement, can be given if the government protects the legitimate democratic movement from the interference of police and bureaucracy, brings about urgent reforms backed by mass movements. But the 'Left Front' Government is discouraging, directly or indirectly, all forms of democratic mass movements and are trying to create a mentality among the people against such movements. Not only this; instead of adopting the policy that "Police

The delay in publication of this issue, due to unavoidable circumstances is regretted—Ed. P. Era.

shall not interfere in legitimate democratic movements" they are even employing the police to repress mass movements on the plea of 'law-and-order'.

They are simply trying to bypass their responsibility to tackle any burning problem in people's life by always pointing to the centre instead of utilising whatever limited power is available to them even within this capitalist framework. Referring to the recent desperate rush of the refugees to West Bengal, Comrade Mukherjee said that the Janata Government at the centre is showing a sense of utter irresponsibility on the question of proper and adequate rehabilitation of these refugees. The 'Left Front' Government too appears to be keen on denying its minimum responsibility in this matter. But what is the

crime of these people? Are they not victims of the political crime of partitioning the country on the so-called 'two-nation' theory in which the hands of the bourgeois parties like the Congress as also of the united CPI are not clean? But CPI(M) led West Bengal government is not showing the minimum humanitarian approach to the refugees which any civilised government shows even to the prisoners of war. It tries anyhow to shirk its responsibility by brutal treatment to the refugees. If the Central Government fails in its duty to make proper arrangement for the economic, social and cultural rehabilitation of the refugees, it should be the task of the 'Left Front' Government to give a call to the people, to organise a massive movement and force the Central Government to do this.

Referring to the question of centre state relation as posed by the CPI(M), Comrade Mukherjee said that it is one thing to organise mass movement against the discriminatory policies and high-handedness of the Central Government against different states but it is quite a different thing to raise hue and cry over these issues just to reap benefit in parliamentary politics taking advantage of peoples' resentment against the Centre.

The logic that Sm. Gandhi could clamp internal Emergency as because the nature of the Constitution was not Federal does not stand the test of scrutiny because it is the law of monopoly capitalism that is bound to lead to concentration of economic and political power—no matter whether the Constitution is unitary or federal.

Comrade Mukherjee also pointed out that this is fantastic that the very same CPI(M) which is pleading for more power and autonomy to the states is crushing whatever democracy or autonomy is there in different educational and other institu-

tion in West Bengal.

He also drew attention to the fact that the CPI(M) leadership is trying to use this slogan as a cover for their failure in different fronts as if lack of adequate power is the root cause of their failure and had they been at the centre they could have brought about fundamental change of the society which has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. But they are not using the Essential Commodities Act to punish the hoarders, black-marketeers, speculators—the enemies of the toiling people—who are continuing to fleece the people as before; they have not repealed the Suburban Police Act, Calcutta Police Act that are carrying the legacy of British Imperialism to suppress peoples' movements—though these are within their power.

Comrade Mukherjee continued to say that it is evident to all today that all the parties claiming themselves Marxist-Leninist, the social democratic forces including the CPI(M) have unabashedly thrown away the banner of leftism and democratic mass movement to fit in their reformist political outlook designed to serve the interest of the capitalist class, and it is SUCI alone, the only genuine communist party in India founded by the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that is holding aloft the banner of Revolution and effectively repulsing the onslaughts of the bourgeois and social democratic parties by making the revolutionary ideology, correct base political line and higher cultural-ethical standard their weapon as shown and set by **Comrade Ghosh**.

He urged all to strengthen SUCI—the only ray of hope before the toiling people in their struggle for emancipation from capitalist exploitation—for the successful culmination of the Socialist Revolution of our country.
Long Live Revolution!
Long Live SUCI!
Long Live

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE